

### Pascalis Romanus and the Text of Artemidorus

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Pascalis Romanus or, as some have styled him, Paschal the Roman,<sup>1</sup> belonged to a group of foreign scholars resident in Constantinople in the twelfth century. He translated from the Greek a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian, the life of the Virgin Mary by the monk Epiphanius,<sup>2</sup> and the miscellany of ancient lore called the "Cyranides," but my present concern is with his original compilation entitled *Liber thesauri occulti*, a treatise on dreams. This was published at Constantinople in 1165, as we learn from a notice prefixed to two of the five manuscripts in which it is preserved. Actually there are three books, of which the first is theoretical while the second and the unfinished third form a "key to dreams," a mass of interpretations taken, without acknowledgement, chiefly from the *Oneirocriticon* of the Ps.-Achmet.<sup>3</sup> Somewhat to our surprise, however, we find also some interlarded passages paraphrased from the dreambook of Artemidorus. Mlle. Simone Collin-Roset, who has recently given us the editio princeps,<sup>4</sup> carefully notes these borrowings though she quotes the Latin translation of Cornarius (1539) rather than the Greek original.

Testimonia to the text of Artemidorus are rare, indeed there is little if anything of the sort beyond the extracts which were inserted in the Suda lexicon in the tenth century. The manuscript tradition, too, is rather unsatisfactory, because there are apparently only two surviving witnesses that possess independent value (L=cod. Laurentianus plut. 87, 8, saec. xi; V=cod.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly "Pasquale il Romano" or "Pasquale di Roma" in the vernacular.

<sup>2</sup> This translation, entitled *Ystoria Beate Marie Virginis*, was edited by E. Franceschini, *Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore*, Milano, Ser. 4, 30 (1938) 109-28. From a remark made in his prologue to this work (. . . etsi parum in greco studuerim . . .) we infer that Pascalis disclaimed a thorough knowledge of Greek.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by F. Drexel (Lipsiae, Teubner, 1925). "Achmes" is a Latinization of the Arabic Achmet.

<sup>4</sup> *AHMA* 30 (Année 1963, published 1964) 111-198.

Marcianus 268, saec. xv), and their readings often vary to a disconcerting extent. Consequently the appearance of this indirect witness from the twelfth century at least arouses curiosity and even raises a hope that it may serve to fill a gap in our knowledge of the text history.

First it will be expedient to pass in review what is recorded about the transmission of the text at a later stage.<sup>5</sup>

In the fifteenth century, the well known scholar and professional scribe Michael Apostolis<sup>6</sup> devoted considerable effort to Artemidorus while he was living in Crete, an exile from his native Constantinople after its capture by the Turks in 1453. At one point or another in his career he not only copied V from some unknown exemplar (let us call it x) but also made two transcriptions of L (M and U). It was in 1461 that he revisited his birthplace and brought back to Crete his copy of a codex of Thucydides,<sup>7</sup> a fact which led me to hazard the guess that he may also have brought from there the Laurentianus (L) itself.<sup>8</sup> Of course the same guess can be made for x. In 1467 he wrote to Cardinal Bessarion, his patron in Venice, that he was then at work on a copy of Artemidorus—apparently either V or M, as both of these eventually found their way into the Biblioteca Marciana.

Turning now to Pascalis, I find that the following extracts alone contain readings that relate his text to LV:<sup>9</sup>

1. Ignis mundus tranquillitatem et habundantiam significat. Pasc. Rom. 3.1; Artem. 2.9 (114, 10).

*habundantiam*: τροφήν L, εὐπορίαν V.

2. Sol autem sanguineus, pallidus, rubeus vel niger omnibus supradictis contrarius est et inefficax. P. 2.21; A. 2.36 (161, 22–24).

*sanguineus*—*niger*: ἀμαυρὸς ἢ ὕφαιμος ἢ μορμυρωπὸς Suda  
Hercher, ἀμαυρὸς ἢ ὕφαιμος ἢ πορφυρώδης ἢ μορμυρώδης πρὸς  
(sic) L, ἀμαυρὸς ἢ ὕφαιμος ἢ μορμύρων V.

<sup>5</sup> See the "Praefatio," pp. v–xi, to my edition of Artemidorus (Lipsiae, Teubner, 1963), a revision of Hercher's edition (1864).

<sup>6</sup> For his life see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1962) 73–110.

<sup>7</sup> See J. E. Powell, *CQ* 32 (1938) 103.

<sup>8</sup> There can be little doubt that Apostolis brought L to Crete, and did not merely copy it in Constantinople, because Janus Lascaris, acting as an agent for Lorenzo de' Medici, later (1492) purchased it at Candia from one Niccolò di Giacomo da Siena.

<sup>9</sup> Artemidorus is cited by book and chapter, followed parenthetically by page and line according to my edition (above, note 5).

3. Crucifigi omnibus navigantibus bonum est, quoniam crux de ligno et clavis facta est et navis similiter et arbor ejus cruci assimilatur. P. 2.20; A. 2.53 (183, 6–8).

*navigantibus*: ναυτιλλομένοις L Hercher, ναυτίλλεσθαι προειρημένοις V.

4. Deus autem, sanctus vel sacerdos, sive rex, princeps vel magister aut divinator qui non sit maleficus quecumque dixerint in sompniis vera erunt. Quecumque vero dixerint pitagorici, phisiognomici, astragalomantici, tiromantici,<sup>10</sup> giromantici, eunuchi immundi, coskinomantici, morphoscopi, necromantici falsa et incerta sunt omnia. P. 2.2; A. 2.69 (195, 3–15; 196, 13), on the classes of reliable or unreliable informants who may appear in dreams.

*phisiognomici*: φυσιογνωμικοὶ L perperam, φυσιογνωμονικοὶ V Hercher. *tiromantici*, *giromantici*: τυρομάντεις L, τυρομάντεις γυρομάντεις V.

LSJ<sup>9</sup> enters *γυρόμαντις* as “= ἀλευρόμαντις, dub. 1. in Artem. 2.69.” The word would be derived from *γῦρις*, -εως, “the finest meal,” so that the correct form would be *γυρίόμαντις* or *γυρίμαντις* (cf. compounds with *πόλις*). Hercher, following L, barred it from his text, probably regarding it as a ghost-word arising from a dittography. We need not infer that Pascalis had *τυρομαντικοὶ γυρομαντικοὶ* before him: the forms he gives probably represent a morphological caprice of his own.

5. Orologium significat opera, motus et impetus, insidias. P. 2.10; A. 3.66 (233, 4–5).

*insidias*: ἐπιβολὰς χρεῶν L, ἐπιβουλὰς χρεῶν V, ἐπιβολὰς <τῶν> χρεῶν Hercher.

L preserves the true reading: the phrase means “the burdens of affairs,” or pressure of responsibilities, of which a timepiece is a constant reminder. P. had before him the same faulty lection as in V, and he disregarded *χρεῶν*. (Cornarius, as quoted by Mlle. Collin-Roset, rendered the V reading as *insidias rerum*.)

6. . . . recitare versus iambicos aut exámetros aut alios vel

<sup>10</sup> Mlle. Collin-Roset incorrectly prints *ciromantici*; of course *c* and *t* are almost indistinguishable in hands of the thirteenth century.

epygrammata (*sic*) aut sermonem, secundum declinationem intellectus erit et rei eventus. P. 2.9; A. 4.59 (284, 7–10).

*epygrammata aut sermonem*: ἐπιγραμμαμάτων ἢ ἄλλων ῥήσεων V, *om.* L.

We find that Pascalis includes a phrase omitted by L (cf. extract 6) and agrees once with V in a certain error (5), once with V in a probable error (4 *giromantici*), and once with V in a probably correct reading (1), though the last point is not technically probative. The lection *phisiognomici* (4), agreeing with L in error, may be taken as a coincidence, as this was a common enough lapse, and *navigantibus* (3) may represent merely a natural simplification of V rather than a rendering of L. So far, then, the balance of evidence favors the conclusion that Pascalis used an ancestor of V, possibly its actual parent, designated above as x—for “codices non sunt multiplicandi praeter necessitatem.” There remains extract 2, where the situation is a bit delicate, because V and the Suda apply three adjectives to the sun while Pascalis, like L, adds a fourth (*rubeus*: πορφυρώδης). That at this point he consulted a manuscript of the L tradition (perhaps L itself) is a possibility which I believe cannot be lightly brushed aside.<sup>11</sup> Mlle. Collin-Roset observes (above [note 4], 128) that he quotes Marbodius, *Liber lapidum*, with a variant reading,<sup>12</sup> and she infers that he may have examined two different codices. In any case, his readings cannot be regarded as reflecting the use of a manuscript independent of the LV tradition, so that we cannot look to him for help with detailed editorial problems. For instance, it is of no interest that he occasionally translates phrases which Hercher excised from LV.

It would be a reasonable conjecture that Pascalis' manuscript (dare we say manuscripts?—see above), and perhaps also that of the Ps.-Achmet from which Leo Tuscus, another member of the foreign colony, made his influential translation, were in the imperial library in Constantinople. We have what purports to be a list of certain astrological books in this library<sup>13</sup> which for some

<sup>11</sup> But it is only fair to admit that the referee for these notes concludes rather “that Pascalis used the ancestor of V only.”

<sup>12</sup> Commodus iste lapis (*sc.* smaragdus) scrutantibus abdita fertur / Cum prescire volunt aut divinare futura *vel* per undam (quoted in *Lib. thes. occ.* 1.21).

<sup>13</sup> *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* 1 (Bruxellis 1898) 83–84. Franz Cumont, in a note *ad loc.*, dates the list between the tenth century and the year 1388. See also C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1924) 221.

unstated reason were not made available to readers. A note written at the end of the list implies that there were many more books on this subject (and, one would suppose, on other forms of divination) to which all readers had access.<sup>14</sup> Further, Mlle. Collin-Roset reminds us (above [note 4], 113) that two centuries after Pascalis' time the emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (1350–1425) took a special interest in dreams and even wrote on the subject himself.

In conclusion, it seems to me that Pascalis' evidence, though in some sense disappointing, still yields a positive gain because it enables us to trace the V tradition back to the twelfth century in Constantinople, thus strengthening the probability that Apostolis later brought x, the parent of V, as well as L itself, from that city.<sup>15</sup> The whole tradition was evidently channelled, as it were, through the Byzantine capital: it is surely pertinent to note that an Arabic translation of Books I–III was discovered only a few years ago in the library of the University of Istanbul.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> ταῦτά εἰσι (sic) τὰ κωλυόμενα βιβλία· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀποτελεσματικά εἰσι κοινά.

<sup>15</sup> Professor Alphonse Dain's article, "La transmission des textes littéraires classiques de Photius à Constantin Porphyrogénète," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954) 31–47, includes a number of data which illustrate the importance of Constantinople as a center for the preservation and transmission of texts.

<sup>16</sup> See Toufy Fahd, *Arabica* 7 (1960) 87–89, and my edition of Artemidorus, pp. xviii, 325.